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Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu AB6 ●
Tungus RU5
Birar
Orochon
Daur
Solon
Manegir
Goldi RX3
Orok
Orochi
Olcha
Negidal
Kile
Samagir

/For a map showing the location of the various ethnic groups listed in the OWC headings above, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 418-423 (in English text)./

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

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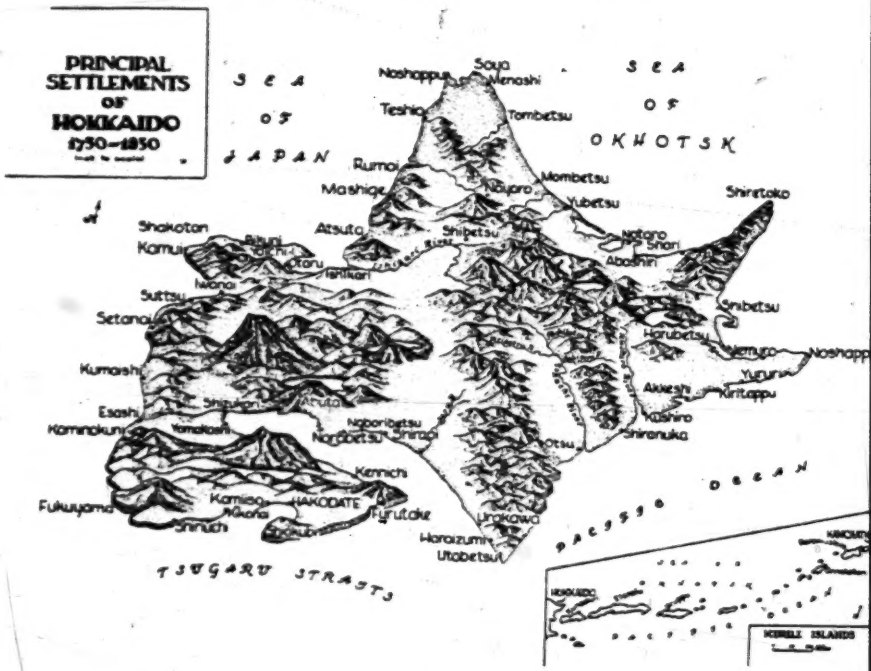

MAP 1

[Frontispiece, facing P. 1]

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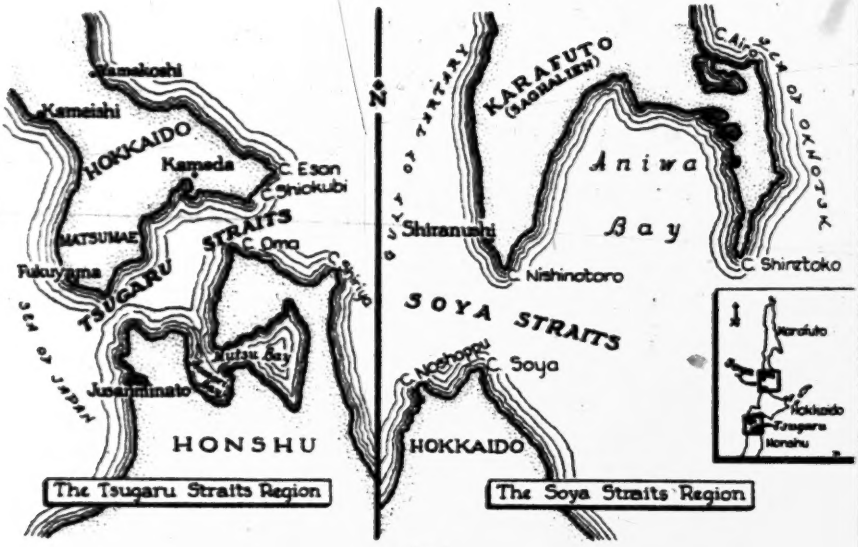

MAP 3

[p.24 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 of rivers, as they are both of a mischievous nature.
776 They are not, however, entirely vicious, for if fetishes are offered to them they are pleased and will do no harm. But if they are insulted or neglected, they will
[778] come along some night and knock down just that rich part of a soft bank where the women have sown their millet and other garden stuff.

By and by we came to places where the current was strong and there were some fairly big rapids to pass through with our tiny boat. I was asked to get out and walk down, but I told my two men that I would not do so unless they did also, for I had thorough confidence in their skill. "In that case," they said, "then you will please sit very still indeed and hold fast on to the side of the boat." I agreed to this and so we went on. We got through to the other end quite safely and very little wet. The genii supposed to inhabit such places are male and female. They are called, "Senders down of the currents" (*Chiu-range-guru*), and "Valiant and Divine Male Current" (*Chiuka-pinne-Kamui-Rametok*). These, I was told, must be worshipped and propitiated with fetishes.

The mermen and mermaids, with others, have been mentioned elsewhere as occasion has suggested, so are not spoken of again in this place. The general name for such is "Demons which pass through the water" (*Pe-poso-koshimpuk*).

GENII AND GHOULS OF THE SEA

● 103 Not far from Muroran on the south eastern coast of Hokkaidō, there is a fishing village which the Japanese call *Washibetsu*. As written with Chinese ideographs, as the names of places on this island have been done for hundreds of years past by the Japanese, this means "Eagle Different" and seems to be quite an absurd appellation. But it should be remembered that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

such names, in both Japan Proper and Hokkaidō, were taken from the old Ainu designations and written by Imperial command with Chinese characters, phonetically, irrespective of meaning. The first command is said to have been given in 713 A.D. by the Empress Genmyō, and was repeated ten centuries later. The chief stipulations were that the ideographs chosen should be first euphonious and then have a lucky meaning. Washibetsu was one of these Ainu names so treated. In Ainu it is *Wash-pet* and means in their language, "Surf-river."

When passing through this small village some years ago, I stopped and had a chat about the place with an old Ainu friend who was with me. I asked him why it, particularly, was called by a name meaning "Surf River," and he told me that it was so named because of the surf which sometimes, in rough weather, rushed into its river-mouth from the sea. As this river is a slightly tidal one, the name is very appropriate.

We went down to the river's mouth and I saw that the opening was shallow and full of rocks. A little way out, too, there were rough rocks over which the sea danced. That, he told me, was the place where the fresh waters from the land met the salt waters from the sea, and was dangerous, for some water sprites lived there. Continuing our conversation, my friend told me that there was a particular genius who presided over the mouths of rivers. In this instance she is a female whose name means "She who governs the place where the fresh and salt waters mingle" (*Chiwashekot-mat*). It is her duty, he told me, to watch over the river waters just where they intermingle with the sea. It is also one of her duties to guide fish in and out of the river, when they go to spawn. So she is pretty busy. She must always be held in reverence, worshipped, and have fetishes presented to her fre-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

600 bushels) and of other grains, wheat, barley, and rye, 15,389 koku (79,000 bushels). These quantities are quite insufficient to sustain the population, which draws its principal supplies from the main island of Japan.

137 The island is well wooded. The spruce, chestnut, walnut, mountain ash, beech, birch, elm, maples, and pines are the most common trees. The maples in the north belong to the large-leaved variety, and are not the same as those of the main island of Japan, the leaves of which are very small. In many parts there is a thick, almost impenetrable undergrowth of scrub bamboo, scarcely exceeding 3 to 4 feet in height, but very unpleasant for the traveler. In the forests, one passes through mile after mile of this luxuriant growth, along narrow trails which can be followed only by an almost imperceptible depression in the general level of the green tops.

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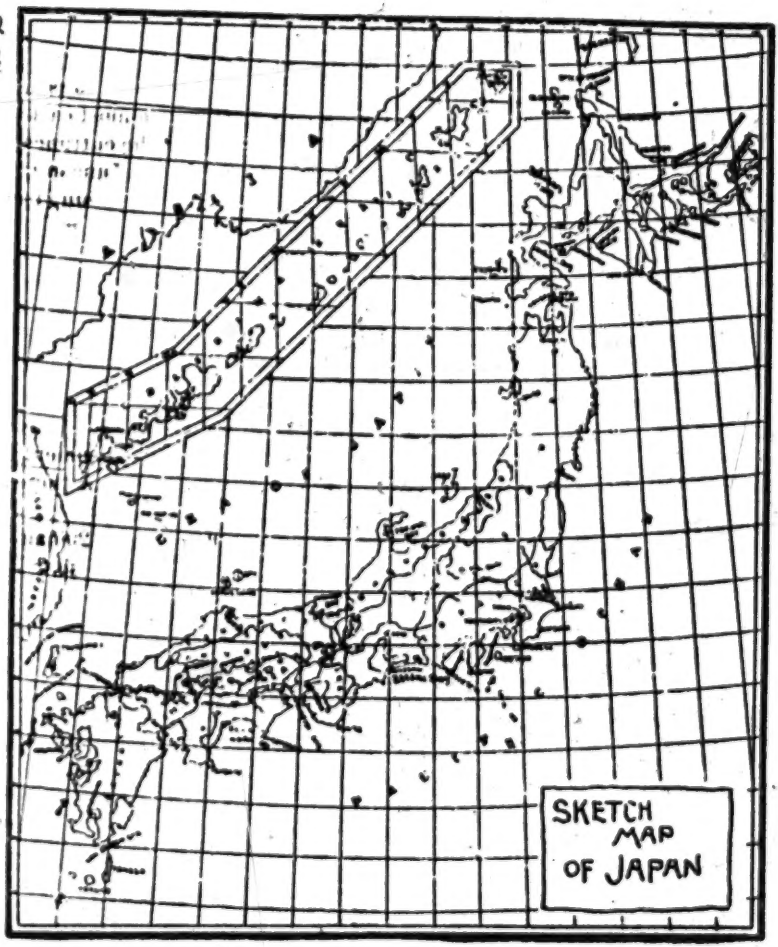

Fig. 68.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

customs of the present Ainos and Japanese. But on the other hand, if we seek to discover Japanese influences changing the habits and improving the condition of those Ainos who have lived in close contiguity with Japanese in Yezo for the last hundred years, we must confess that the signs of it are scarcely noticeable. The Aino in close contact with Japanese civilization remains, intellectually and otherwise, as much a savage in culture to-day as he ever could have been. It is true that some Japanese tales have found their way into Aino folk-lore, and a Japanese hero, Yoshistune, is reputed to have taught them useful arts. They number among their household treasures old Japanese swords and curios, which have been handed down from past generations. They now use Japanese knives instead of stone implements and metal arrow-heads in place of flint. But it is scarcely a century since they emerged from the stone age, and otherwise they have not passed beyond it. 177 174

We have here a remarkable instance of the close association of two distinct races, one superior and powerful, the other degraded and weak, working together day by day, living in contiguous villages, intermarrying more or less, and yet, after a century of such intimacy, as distinct in their character, habits of life, superstitions and beliefs as though they had never come together. The Aino has not so much as learned to make a reputable bow and arrow, although in the past he has had to meet the Japanese, who are famous archers, in many battles. It is a most remarkable example of the persistence of distinct types together, when the conditions are apparently favorable for the absorption of one by the other. The Ainos, being unable to affiliate more closely with the Japanese, remain distinct and apart, and are therefore doomed to extinction from the face of the earth. 177 648

As regards the evidence of place-names of Aino origin in Japan, a reference to Professor Chamberlain's valuable monograph shows that they are very widely distributed, even so far south as Kiushiu. Only a few examples will be quoted here to indicate the character of the evidence, the full strength of which can be brought out only by careful philological studies, such as the author named above has most ably carried out. Japanese geographical names are written with Chinese characters, which even the learned can not pronounce correctly without the aid of a geographical dictionary. These characters have meanings which may or may not throw light upon the origin of the name. For example, Otaru is an Aino place-name, meaning "sandy road." The reading of the Chinese characters is "small cask." Many examples of this kind show that the meaning of the Chinese characters may be very misleading. In the following list will be found a number of names illustrating the very absurd meanings in Japanese, and the Aino derivations proposed by Professor Chamberlain. 174 103

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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Place-names.	Japanese.	Ainu.
Jan	(Phonetic)	The promontory.
Isamo	Issuing clouds	The bay near the promontory.
Naki	Name tree	Stream.
Nakari	Name flat	The cliff by the stream.
Sabe	(Phonetic)	Dry river.
Sara	...do	The grassy plain.
Tasabe	Rice-field name, tribe	Long river.
Tonami	Haros in a row	The stream from the lake.
Tsushima	Opposite horses	The distant island.
Uda	(Phonetic)	Sand.

The distribution of names which are unquestionably of Aino origin, can be traced through the main island, and through Shikoku and Kiushiu, even into the extreme southern province of Osumi, and across the sea in the islands of Iki and Tsushima. "The dawn of history shows them (the Ainos) to us living far to the south and west of their present haunts, and ever since then, century by century, we see them retreating westwards under the pressure of the colonists from Europe." * * *

[131]

Evidently the Japanese Government can not, with the best of intentions, preserve the race much longer from extinction. If the Ainos once inhabited southern Japan, as the evidence of geographical place-names seems to prove, and if they have gradually been driven northward, their presence in the north of the main island within the historic period leads to the supposition that the early Japanese were the aggressors. If this were so, we would expect some allusion to the fact in ancient traditions and literature. The Japanese records of events previous to the historic period are exceedingly unsatisfactory, but it is significant that some of the half-mythical personages bear Aino names. Thus Tomibiko, for example, means nothing in Japanese, but the Ainos have the word *tumi*, "of war," which, in combination with the Japanese *biko* or *hiko*, "prince," gives us "Prince of war." The Ukashi are evidently the elders, from the Aino word *ekashi*. Instances like these might be multiplied.

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According to Japanese records Japan was once inhabited by a race of dwarfs, who lived in underground dwellings—"earth-spiders," they were called. These were exterminated by the Japanese as the latter spread over the country. There are also allusions to a hairy race of savages called Yebisu, or Yemishi. This word is usually assumed to designate the Ainos, with whom the Japanese must have come in contact very early. It would appear, therefore, that the Japanese found the country inhabited by two different races, the so-called cave-dwellers and the Ainos, a supposition which seems not improbable in the light of recent ethnographic studies. In the preceding paper ("The Pit-dwellers of Yezo") the author has brought forward evidence to prove that certain excavations in the ground, quite numerous in Yezo, are the ruins of ancient dwellings, once inhabited by a people unlike the Ainos. The Ainos have, in fact, a tradition concerning such a race of pit-dwel-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

That this is an important consideration was well illustrated in my own experience. No doubt there are officials at Sapporo, the seat of government, and perhaps also in Hakodate, who can give such information, but I was quite unable to get any knowledge whatever as to the existence or non-existence of any considerable number of Ainos on the northeast coast of Yezo. I went to Hakodate intending to sail directly to Nemuro, and to go from there as far as possible to the north, but from the information I received at Hakodate, I was led to change my plan, and concluded to come back along the southeast coast over the well-known routes of travel. But at Nemuro I was so fortunate as to meet a gentleman who had been farther north, and from his observations I was led to resume my original plan, much to my satisfaction; for the Ainos of the south are well known to foreign travelers, while those in the north have scarcely been seen except by Japanese.

The population of the places mentioned below was very courteously given me by the local Japanese officials. There may be serious errors in spelling the names of villages, but I have endeavored to convey the sounds as well as I could catch them from the Hokaido Japanese, which it was always difficult for me to understand.

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
NEMURO.				
Bitekai	14			86
Shibetsu		29	20	49
KITAMI.				
Shari:				
Shimotokai	11	10	12	22
Shari	45	62	64	126
Yambetsu	7	11	9	20
Abashiri:				
Abashiri		14	8	22
Kitami Machi		21	18	39
Noyori		7	4	11
Notori		3	6	9
Nikuribuki		6	6	12
Mukudo		5	7	12
Naiyori		7	6	13
Tombetsu		6	6	12
Miboro		15	11	26
Kakumi		5	4	9
Dapi		9	8	17
Ponkigin		5	4	9
Kimitambi		9	9	18
Furumi		9	5	14
Tokoro	35	50	56	106
TOKACHI.				
Akkeshi:				
Wakkakecho		2	5	7
Matsubacho		61	55	116
Houtomura		2		2
Shinriuwa		13	14	28

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
TOKACHI—continued.				
Tokachi:				
Tokachi	1	1	3	4
Obotsukowashi	9	18	13	31
Aioshi	3	3	4	6
Osanou	4	6	6	12
Tafukurui	20	54	41	95
Tobutsu	6	12	16	28
Kinoshiba	10	22	17	39
Nakagawa:				
Nobutori	11	25	29	54
Horokenashiba	4	7	7	14
Ponbetsu	20	45	47	92
Chiota	14	14	35	49
Yamuwatkahira	20	46	41	87
Ikanbetsu	13	28	42	70
Chirotl	22	24	27	51
Betl	6	9	13	22
Kasai:				
Pushikobetsu	71	57	50	107
Memurobetsu	50	151	144	295
Sachinai	9	22	23	45
Urukorept	3	7	8	15
Katou:				
Otofuke	31	79	81	160
Tobuti:				
Horofuno	3	5	7	12
Taiki	8	19	15	34
Biroo:				
Moyori	40	84	77	161
HIDAKA.				
Urakawa	154			
Mitsuishi	67	540	560	1,130
Shidzunai	376	194	191	385
Nikap	136	778	801	1,600
		321	307	628
Saru:				
Sarufuto	9	34	27	61
Hiraka	27	75	77	153
Shinukotan	28	55	68	123
——?	23	38	48	86
Piratori	61	103	104	207
——?	31	77	88	165
? Nisi	37	80	92	172
? Ogashiranaya	13	28	27	55
? Horosari	20	69	71	140
? Kankibetsu	10	28	20	48
Monbetsu	20	73	53	126
——?	5	22	19	41
Gabari	25	56	68	123
Harubetsu	10	43	54	97
——?	4	7	6	13
Shamani	62	170	156	326
Horoidzuni	23	27	28	55
IBURI.				
Youfutsu	240	480	551	1,030
Shirari	132	290	271	567
Chitose	74	140	127	267

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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STOREHOUSES AT PIRATORI.

CHAPTER III.

Up the Saru River—Piratori and its chief.

361 A LARGE number of Ainu have taken up their abode on the banks of the River Saru, or Sharu, as it is called by them, and Piratori, nearly fifteen miles from the coast, is the largest village of the whole series.

133 361 [103] The scenery from the coast to this village is not grand, but pretty, through a thickly-wooded country and along grassy plains. The Ainu give to the plain itself the name of Sharu-Ru, which corresponds in English to a "track in a grassy plain." Along this water-way, or not far from it, one meets with numerous small Ainu villages and scattered huts until Piratori is reached.

Piratori is a string or succession of many villages on undulating ground, the last of them being situated on a high cliff overlooking the river. In the Ainu language *Pira* means

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. Names of places, rivers, towns, etc., of Ainu origin, are common all over Japan. It was this former occupation of Japan by the Ainu that for some time led people to believe that the Ainu were the forefathers of the Japanese; and when pits were found in Yezo, the same hastily-judging people attributed them to the Ainu; and then, when mention was made of the Koro-pok-kuru and the Ko-shto, they affixed this name to the Kurilsky Ainu whom they had never seen nor studied.

I am not prepared to say whether or not traces of these Koro-pok-kuru are to be found in the Aleutian Islands, as I have not visited them; but it would prove interesting to trace a connection between them and some existing race, in case my supposition be not correct, though I am sure that it is nearer the mark than any of the conjectures made by others with regard either to the Ainu or the Koro-pok-kuru. At any rate, as I do not pretend to infallibility; should my supposition be wrong, the facts given above will remain, and a more successful student and investigator will be able to work on them with a decided advantage over the writer, who had to start from the very beginning, and work on information which was more of an obstacle than a help.

STONE ADZES AND HAMMERS.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Mr. Sugiura

states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been considered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

11: Watanabe

AB6 Ainu AB6

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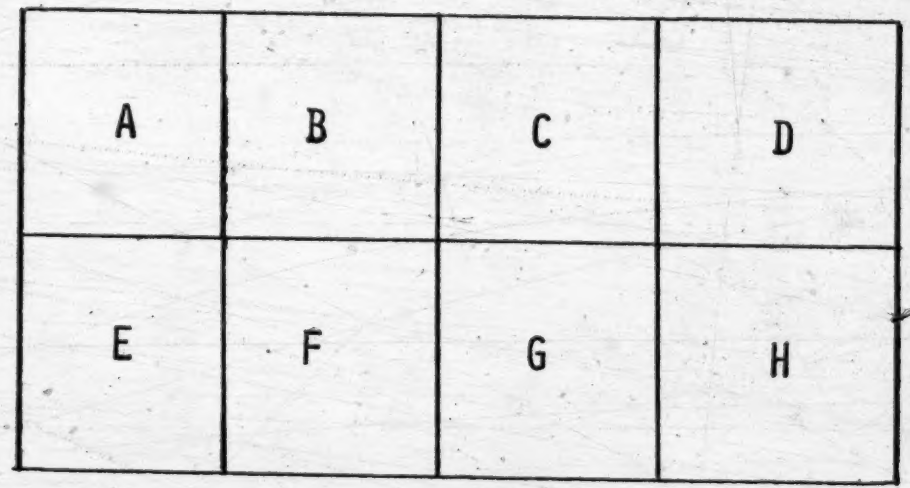
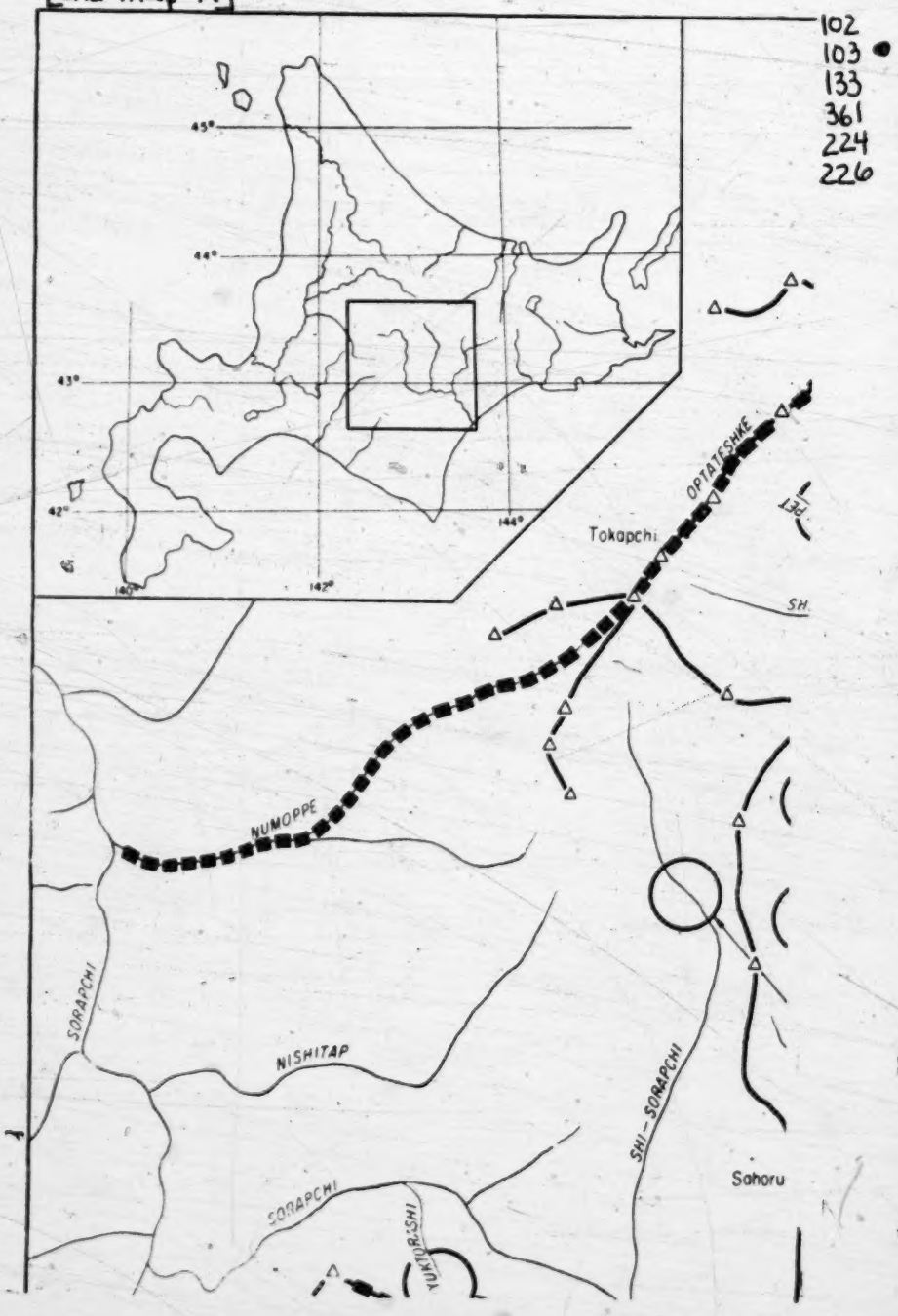


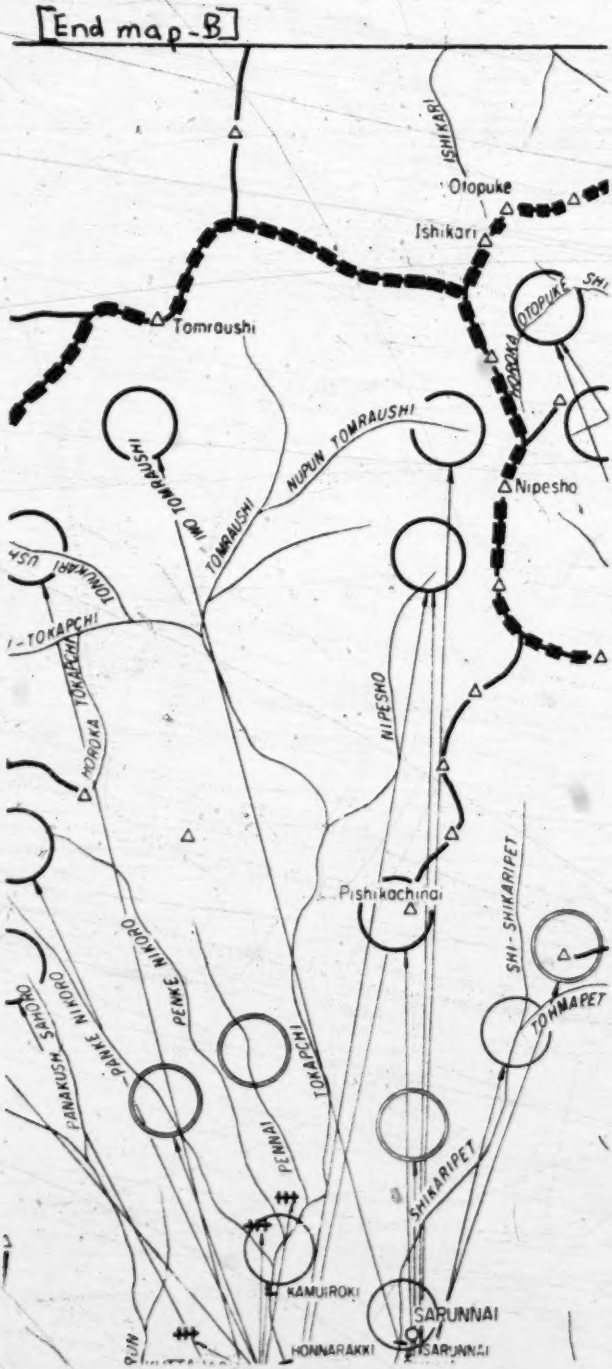
Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-A]



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



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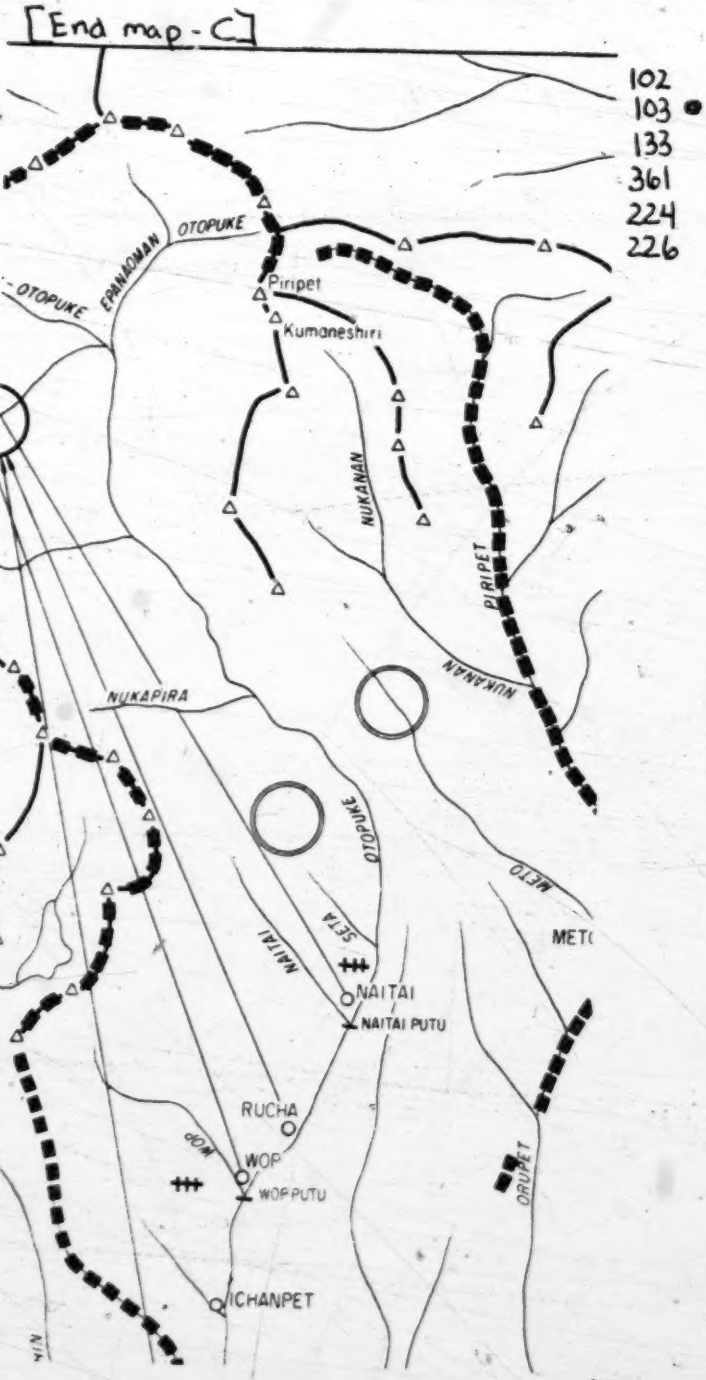
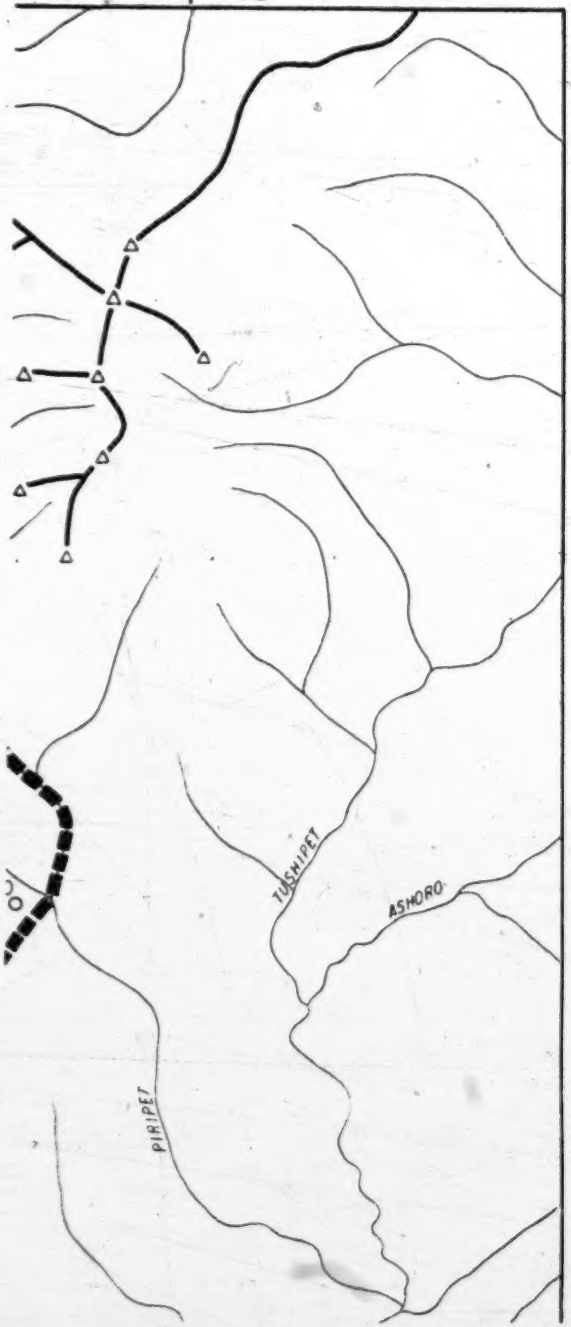


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-D]



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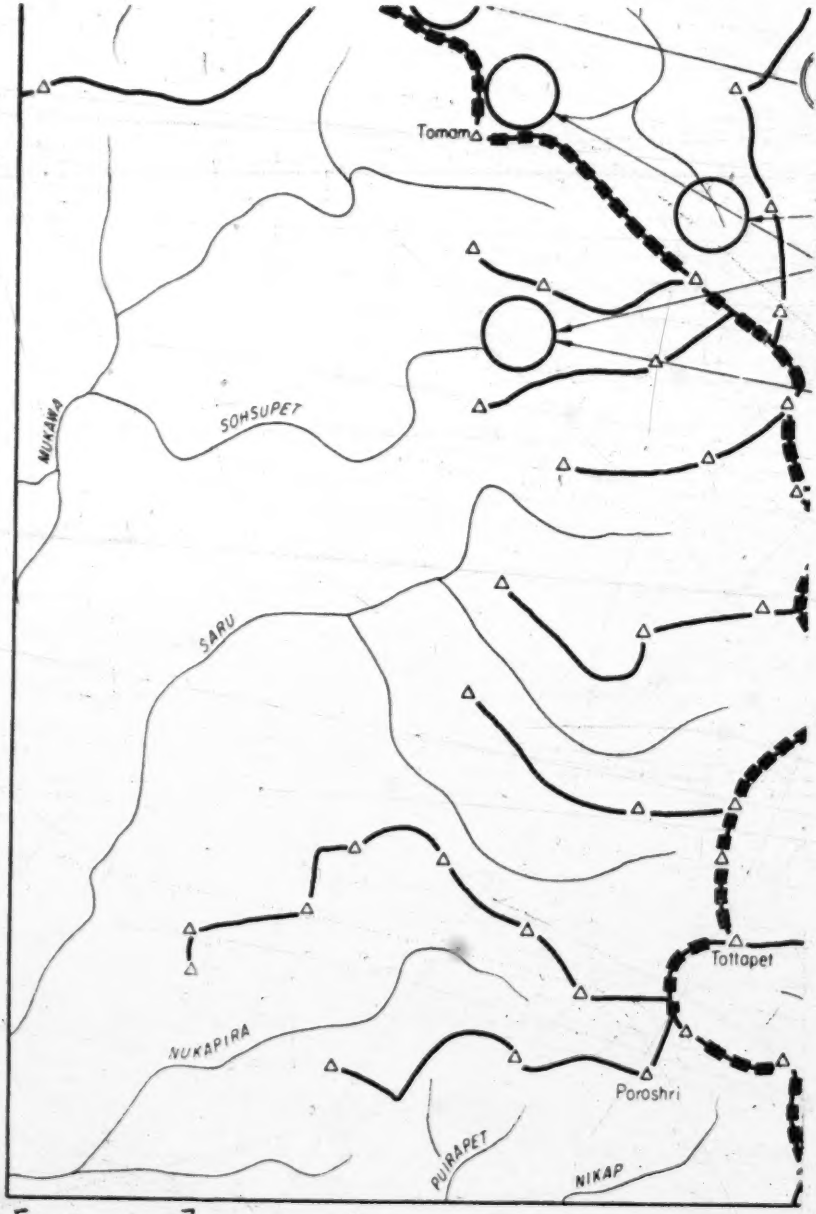
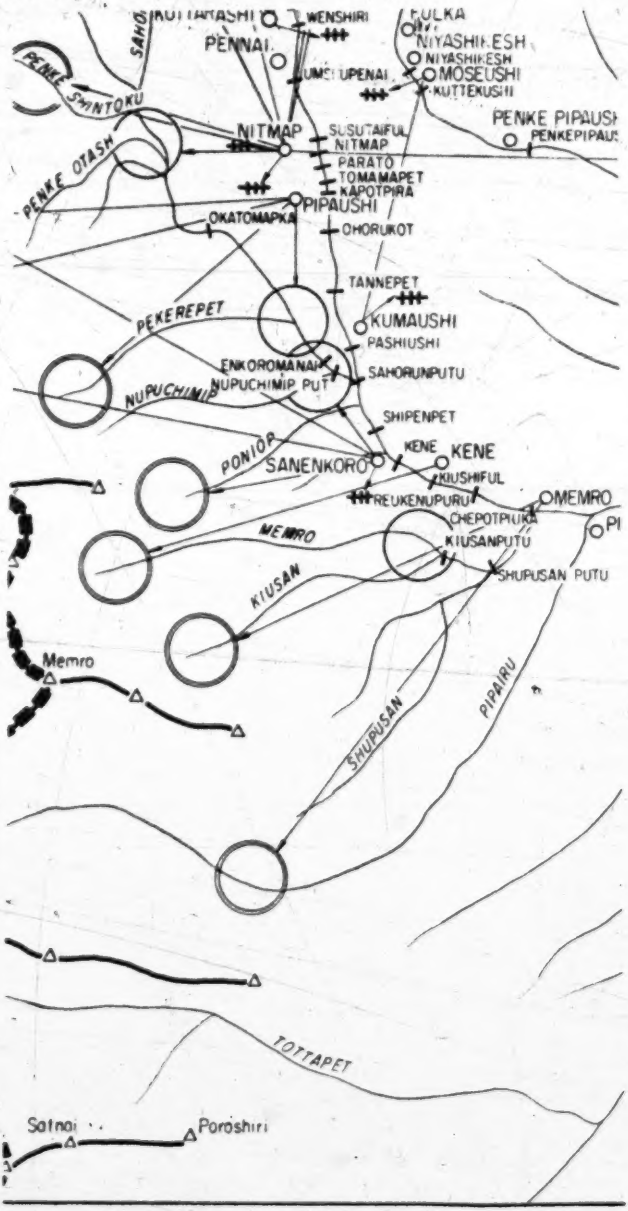
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



[End map-E]

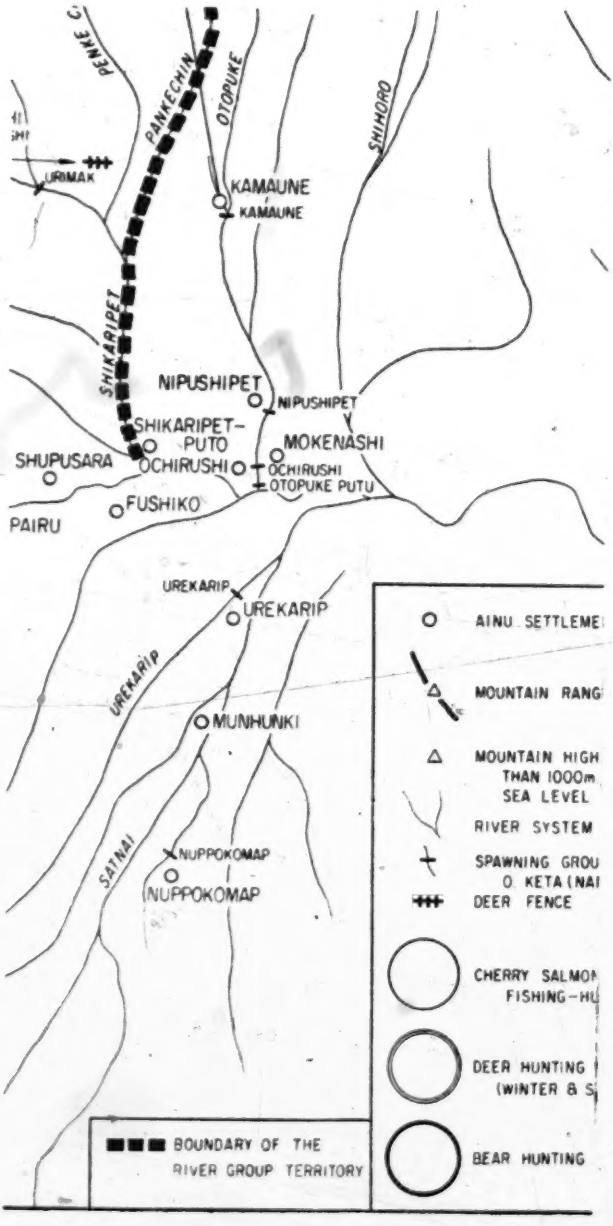
Map. 2.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and oth

[End map-F]



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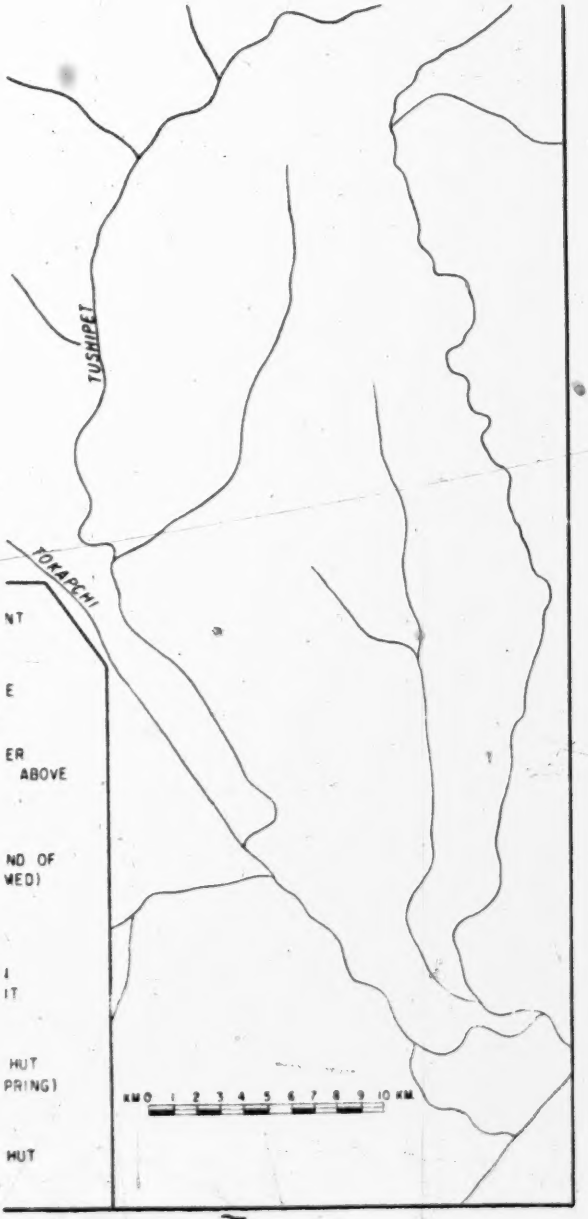
er gathering sites. The upper Tokapchi Valley.

[End map-G]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



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[End map-H]

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a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi:* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.
Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

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Otopuke Valley.

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R.G.	S.I.G.		Settlement Group	Numbe of Houses
		L.G.	Naitai	2
			Meto	1
			Rucha	1
			Wop	3
			Ichampet	2
			Kamaune	1
		L.G.	Nipushipet	3
			Mokenashi	1
			Ochirushi	2
			Shikaripetputu	2

Satnai Valley.

R.G.	S.I.G.		Settlement Group	Number of Houses
		L.G.	Nupokomap	9
		L.G.	Munhunki	3
		L.G.	Urekarip	3

R.G. River Group
S.I.G. *Shine Itokpa* Group
L.G. Local Group

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621 The Settlement.

Families settled together and formed a *kotan*, the Ainu settlement. In the Otopuke valley several *kotans* consisted each of only one family. The number of houses or households constituting a *kotan* varied from one to more than ten, usually less than ten. This was also the case with the Ainu settlement even in 1857-58[10].

[103] The material aspect. The *kotan* was usually named after the stream near which it was situated. Sites for *kotans* were chosen with a view to proximity to sources of drinking water and fishing and hunting grounds. The most important factor was usually the spawning beds of dog salmon. The spawning beds were well developed and aggregated into concentrations in the main stream near the junctions of tributary streams and the *kotan* itself was usually situated on the terrace of the river near the spawning ground. The distance between two adjacent *kotans* would vary from about 2 to more than 8 kms., the average being 4-8 kms. The families of a *kotan* were not concentrated in a cluster of houses but rather were scattered and often semi-isolated. The distance between dwelling houses next to each other varied from ca. 100 m. to 500 and some might be even farther away.

621 The social aspect. Each *kotan* group was called by the name of the *kotan*,

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of their own local group which was exploited most intensively by the settlement group. It is evident that besides these spawning grounds controlled by local groups there were many other smaller spawning grounds and scattered spawning beds which were neither named nor claimed by any group but were open to any members of the river group for exploitation without permission. Examples of spawning grounds thus named and controlled by local groups are given as follow (Map 2).

Named Spawning Grounds on the Otopuke, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[48]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Naitai-putu Un Ichanuni	40	Naitai settlement group	Local group of upper Otopuke*
Kamaune Un Ichanuni	200	Kamaune settlement group	"
Wop-putu Un Ichanuni	100	Wop settlement group	"
Nipushipet Un Ichanuni	200	Nipushipet settlement group	Local group of lower Otopuke
Ochirushi Un Ichanuni	40	Ochirushi settlement group	"
Otopuke-putu Un Ichanuni**	300-400	Settlement groups lower than Nipushipet	"

Named Spawning Grounds on the Upper Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Kamuirokki Un Ichan	200	Kuttarashi settlement group	Kuttarashi Group as local group
Honnarakki Un Ichan	100	"	"
Wenshiri Un Ichan	400	"	"
Umshupenai Un Ichan	600 or more	"	"
Sustaifulsam Un Ichan	300	Nitmap settlement group	Nitmap group as local group
Nitmap Un Ichan	400	"	"
Parato Un Ichan	200 or more	"	"
Tomamapet Un Ichan	200	"	"
Kapot-pira Un Ichan*	300	Pipaushi settlement group	Pipaushi group as local group
Ohorukot Un Ichan	200	"	"
Okatmapka Un Ichan (on the Sahorun, a tributary)	100	"	"

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Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploitung Regularly	Controlling Body
Tannepet Un Ichan	more than 400	Kumaushi settlement group	Kumaushi group as local group
Pashiushi Un Ichan	200	"	"
Shipenpet Un Ichan**	300-400	Sanenkoro settlement group	Sanenkoro group as local group
Enkoroomanai-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	100	"	"
Nupuchimip-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sahorun-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sarunnai-putu Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet, a tributary)	?	Sarunnai settlement group	Moseushi group as local group
Nyashikesh Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	above 200	Nyashikesh settlement group	"
Kuttekuush Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	200	Moseushi settlement group	"
Penke-pipaushi Un Ichan	?	Penke-pipaushi settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Kene Un Ichan	600	Kene settlement group	Kene group as local group
Kiushiful Un Ichan	400	"	"
Reukenupuru Un Ichan	200-400	"	"
Chepotpiuka Un Ichan***	300	Memroputu settlement group	Memroputu group as local group
Nutap-etufu Un Ichan	above 200	"	Possively Memroputu group as local group
Uparupenai Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Kutu Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Pira-chorupok Un Ichan	250	Fushikopet and Furemem settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Memro-putu Un Ichan	100	"	"
Shipet-arike Un Ichan	?	"	"
Chep-makanpet Un Ichan	250	Ponsatnai settlement group	(Particulars unknown)

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Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[50]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	"	"
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[51]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45-46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For example, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism—territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season. 423 221 311 [619]

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off, 423

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175 361 "basho" (districts) on Etorof of the Kurile Islands not one contained twenty houses. Only a few had a population of more than a hundred. In some cases a single house constituted a settlement" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 27).

[114] For more concrete and comprehensive data on the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in those gathering days, reference should be made to T. MATUURA, "Yezo-Nissi-shū" (Collected Diaries in Yezo, edited by A. MASAMUNE, 1937). The book covers a series of explorations made in Ainu territories in 1857-1858 by Takeshiro Matsuura, an official of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In spite of the extremely great value of the data it contains, the book has never received a wide utilization it deserves. Hence the data from his diaries have been tabulated by the present writer as follows:

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Tokapchi River (in descending order of location)

Name of Settlement	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
Kamuiroki	1	4	
(No name mentioned)	2	5, 4 (the latter represented by an old woman).	Located near Satteki.
(No name mentioned)	2	2, 8	
Makunbetu	1	4	
Nitomafu (Nitmap)	3	23 in total	Arayok, the headman, and his lineage.
Okatomanai	3	2, 5, 7	
Hibaushi (Pipaushi)	2	(Number not stated)	
Chifuru	1	5	
Saoroputo	3	4, 5, 5	
Memroputo	2	4, 4	
Bibairuputo (Pipairuputu)	8	2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7	
Obereberefu	2	4, 4	
Nubuka	4	(Number not stated)	
Hetchara	1	(Number not stated)	
Jiroto	5		
Horonokotcha	2		
Iikanhetu	10		
Kamokinai	4		
Yamwakkahira	Some		Some millet fields.
Furukeshi (Chyota)	8		
Onnenai	2		
Tohioka	2		
Seyoi	4		
Tanneota	6		
Barautuka	2		

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(The river forked here into two streams)		
Aneshum	6	
Nutabeto	3	
Urahoroputo	2	
Obekkohashi	9	
Betumoshiri	3	Being a ferry station at the river mouth.
Osaushi	11	Located by a Japanese seine-fishing ground.
Ootunai		A Japanese fishing and trading post near the river mouth.

Shikaripet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

16 houses in total

Otopuke River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

21 houses in total

Tushipet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

27 houses in total

Ashoro River, a tributary of the Tushipet

13 houses in total

Azuma River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ofumusenai	3	
Tonika	5	Plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Shiinai	5	
Kimunkotan	10	Many cultivated plots.
Funawatashi (named in Japanese meaning a ferry station)	3	The most downstream Ainu settlement located near the estuary.

Mukawa River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ninatumi	5	
Hattaruse	4	
(No name described)	6	

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Hohetufuto	15	Ainu houses continuously distributed crossing over small streams adjacent to each other, the Wennai, the Toyomanai, and the Yukoronai.
(No name described)	6	Located near Shufushinai.
Kaikuma	6	
Shittekinai (Ruheshihe)	4	
Kinaushi	8	
(No name mentioned)	2	
Ocharusenai (Ruheshihe)	3	
Ichimifu	6	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Niwan	6	
Kinaushi	5	
Yukhetu	8	
Kirikachi	4	
Osannefu	1	
Moihetu	7	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Kaanai	4	
Kenashoro	4	
Impoppe	6	
Chin	10	
Mukawaputo	4	Located near the estuary. A ferry- and rest-station along the coast-road linking Japanese fishing posts.

Saru River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Horosaru (Porosaru)	22	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Osatnai	20	
Penakori	11	
Kankan	3	
Bihaushi (Pipaushi)	15	Cultivated plots.
Nifutani (Niputani)	27	
Hiratori (Piratori)	31	
Saraha (Sarupa)	19	
Shumunkotu	30†	Many cultivated plots.
Hitaraba (Pitarupa)	3	
Biraka (Piraka)	24	Cultivated plots. The most downstream settlement.

Nukabira River, a tributary of the Saru

Nukkehetu (Nukkipet)		House number not described.
Niyoi	9	
Shikerehe	5	

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Ishikari River

The main stream (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Wenbetsu	5	
Asakara	1 (or 2?)	
Kinkushibetu	2	Each represented by an old woman.
Ochinkaba	1	
Mem	5	Each of two of the houses represented by an old woman.
Betchiushi	6	
Ijan	3	
Betubara	2	
Tokufuto	2	Cultivated plots.
Tuishikari	1 at least	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
Ishikari		Japanese fishing and trading post "unjoya" near the estuary.
Yuhari River, a tributary of the Ishikari		
Taikeshi	3	Cultivated plots.
Tapkofu	1	Cultivated plots.
Shikot River, a tributary of the Yuhari		
Osakmanai	5	
Nunnai	2	
Orokkochi	4	
Ruen	3	
Besa (Pesa)	5	
Rankoushi	3	
Chitose (name in Japanese)	15	An Ainu settlement by a Japanese fishing and trading post. Cultivated plots.
Osat	9	
Isarifuto	7	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
(Along the Isari, a small tributary)	9 in total	Many cultivated plots.
Shumamafuto	1	Situated near a Japanese rest-house.

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Teshio River (in ascending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
The estuary			A Japanese fishing and trading post, "unjoya".
Teutohitara	1	2	
Toinotafu	1	8	
Aheshinai	3	2, 3, 3	
Tonbeppo	2	6, 7	
Otoinefu	1	5	
Okurumatomanai	1	12	
Henkeniubu	2	2, 4	
Nayorofuto (Naibuto)	2	3, 5	At the junction of the Nayoro R.
(The river forked here into two streams)			
Main Stream:			
Kenefuchi	1	9	
Utu	3	4, 4, 4	One of the houses represented by an old woman.
Kunkattekkuru	3	4, 6, 8	
Sattekuhetu	3	3, 3, 4	
Nayoro River:			
Chirusushi	2	2, 5	
Henkekiushi-hitara	1	7	
Chinomi	2	2, 6	
Kamuicham	1	4	
Toushumakomanai	2	3, 5	
Shufunuto	1	7	

Kusuri (Kushiro) River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Kutcharo	9	Located by Kutcharo Lake.
Teshikaka	8	One of them represented by an old woman.
Kumaushi	1	
Tohro	16	Located by Lake Tohro near the coastal plain.
Kusuri		A Japanese fishing and trading post near the estuary.

Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively.
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement. 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively.

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(11) To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (IZUMI, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner-structure and interrelationship of these two groups. [621] [622]

(12) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by TAKAKURA on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 28).... The chief of a *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru*, *kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consanguinity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59). [622]

A report by K. SUGIURA and S. IZUMI on a joint survery they made of the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* (one and the same) *itokpa*. But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two *ekashi ikiru*; yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that [114]

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(33) About the wintering quarters of the deer.—Any Ainu informant from any district will testify that wintering quarters of the deer, of which there were many sizes, were found not on the level plain but on the hills, generally in places sheltered by evergreens, mostly firs, where the snow was never so deep as to make it difficult for the animal to find bamboo-grass and other food during winter; that Ainu huts for deer-hunting were erected near those wintering quarters. It must be noted, however, that not all their huts and their hunting grounds occurred near those specific quarters which bore the title. It seems that *rikoruya* or *yuk ria ushi*, as some wintering centres were specifically named, were relatively large-scaled. Apparently, they were not many in any river valley. The Ainu word '*rikoruya*', meaning 'wintering place of deer', is preserved to this day in some place-names (INUKAI, 1952, p. 10).

The writer's investigation shows that on the upper Tokapchi there existed five such named wintering places; two on the Panke Nikoro glen (*Panke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Panke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*), two others on the Penke Nikoro glen (*Penke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Penke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*) and another on the Pennai (or Penkenai) glen (*Pennai an rikoruya*). These five were the deer-hunting grounds of the people of Kuttarashi, the uppermost settlement on the river course. The huts for mountain hunting of deer in winter belonging to the cooperative groups of Nitmap, were found in the Shintoko, Penke Otash, Panke Kinaushi and Penke Kinaushi glens, all situated near wintering centres. But of all these only Penke Kinaushi and Panke Kinaushi, where there were dense growths of firs, had each a *rikoruya*, there being none in the other dales more sparsely wooded by the trees. On the Otopuke there could be identified only three '*yuk ria ushi*', named *Nukanan etoko yuk ria ushi*, *Kumaneshiri ebakike yuk ria ushi* and *Seta etoko yuk ria ushi*, respectively. All these were in the hills thickly wooded by firs. As there were no other hills to speak of, people of the whole river course, as it is said, went for deer hunting in the hills mostly in these areas. It seems, however, that of these three the uppermost Kumaneshiri shows no trace of having been developed by any other group than that of the uppermost settlement. In fact, there were other nameless centres utilized along with the so-called '*ria ushi*' as in the Nukapira glen. The examples given above will be sufficient to show that Ainu huts and grounds for deer hunting were never restricted to the major wintering quarters specifically titled '*rikoruya*' or '*yuk ria ushi*', but that they were established in nameless centres near each settlement as well, so long as they could satisfy the need of the group concerned.

(34 Another methods of deer hunting.—That the commonest method of deer

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un ichan (ca. 100 yds). These relatively small spawning grounds on the Memro, a tributary to the Tokapchi, were exploited habitually by the Memro-putu group in time of a rise of the main stream; it is, however, not clearly known whether or not they had a claim to these.

50 In regard to the Satnai, it is not known whether Munhunki group, a settlement and a local group, had any spawning ground of their own. My informant, Ushino, from Nitmap could not name any more spawning grounds on the Satnai than those mentioned in the text, which she actually visited in company with some of her kinsmen in Satnai, though to all appearances there were some more.

51 The following information on the named spawning grounds on the lowest course of the Saru given by Mopi from Nina, one of the *pishun kotan* (p. 62) of the valley, is based on her direct observations and experiences in the period covering some years from the time of the land-allotment downward. There are some evidences that even in those days, at least these settlements and the local groups on the lowest course respectively remained in approximately the same area as before and continued to practise dog salmon fishing, controlling the spawning grounds by means of ritual observances similar to those described in pp. 72-73.

Named Spawning Grounds on the Lower Saru
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Panke-piraturu-putu Un Ichan*	Piraturu settlement group	Piraturu group as local group
Penke-nina-putu Un Ichan	Nina settlement group	Nina group as local group
Apka Un Ichan	Sarupa settlement group	Sarupa group as local group
Shira-putu Un Ichan**	" "	(?)

* The Piraturu group seems to have controlled several other grounds besides this, which was their best.

** This ground also seems to have been controlled by the Sarupa group, but it is not certain.

G 101 /16 cont./

It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly Gi A 101 separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On A G 101 162 361 the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely ● 703 Gilyak, Kthĕus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was A G 103 361 inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthĕus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

A G [114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with G 361 the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for A G [113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

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south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

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361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had
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439 been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast
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361 of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

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A Gi 101 /17 cont./ dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These relationships become even more complicated, however, by the fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A 131 Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. Moreover, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people [A 101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former A 361 people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first [A 131] in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one

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1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

36 [113] [114] [103] northernmost village inhabited exclusively by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a printing error in this name for "Urussi." On Schebunin's map a village "Unotzi" is shown immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

36 131 leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island, 131 along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

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2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles) 131 who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

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3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

A G 101 439 /117 cont./ buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

G [175] 113 [291]

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A F.J. Gi 101 The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

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1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

F.J. A 114 103 113

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3
Ainu AB6

F.J.
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/118 cont./

1. (cont.)
(see his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 49, 52, 63).

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F.J.
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Mamia Rinsô's Predecessor, The Japanese traveler Mogami Tok'nai, who, however, did not travel beyond Sakhalin, placed the region of Santan on that part of the mainland closest to the island; according to him, it extended from the mouth of the Amur River, along its right bank, and along the seacoast up to about 50° north latitude. For the name of the people and the region, however, he had a far-fetched explanation from the Chinese language (2). Mamia Rinsô, however,

2. "Santan," according to this, was supposed to be a more recent name: formerly the region and people were called Itan or Kitan, which means "red-striped savages." With the advancing culture, the barbaric peoples left the coasts and plains and moved back into the mountains; hence they were called San-tan, that is, red men of the mountains. Siebold, in giving this explanation, adds (Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 3) that this region may be found on a map of Japan, copies from a Japanese original, which was published by Reland at the beginning of the last century in Amsterdam, designated with the Chinese characters Han than.

who had visited the Santan region, realized at once that that name comes neither from the Chinese nor from the region and its people, but was given to it by the Ainu and Japanese. His better trained ear enabled him to hear the name Santan also as "S'janta" and "Z'janta" (3). My widely-traveled Olcha from

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1. (cont.)
einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, Vol. I, p. 282.

his explanation is found in the fact that the word "aino" or "ainu" means roughly "human being" among all the inhabitants of Jesso, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles belonging to the same tribe (2).

2. Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc., p. 282, note, p. 301; the same, Asia polyglotta, pp. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 245.

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Through Krusenstern's voyage the name "Karafuto, Karafto," or "Krafto," known from several Japanese maps and referring to an island located north of Jesso, was identified with Sakhalin (3).

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3. Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, and others. As early as 1802 the map center in St. Petersburg had published a map on which the island of "Karafuto" was drawn on the basis of a Japanese map which the Japanese, Kodai, whom Ad. Laxmann in 1792 had to bring back to his native country, had brought to Russia (Krusenstern, op. cit., p. 30). In Matsmai, in the possession of a Japanese official, Laxmann saw a map on which Jesso was entered, as well as another island, which bore the name "Karap" (Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Shortly before, in 1785 or 1786, Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, had been published in Jedo /Yedo (Tokyo)/ (translated into French by Klaproth and provided with some notes,

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3. (cont.)

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under the title, San kokf, etc., ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832), in which (p. 187) there is also mention of the country of "Karafuto" or "Karafto," located north of Jesso and separated from it by a strait. On the maps accompanying the work, this country is represented as a peninsula of the mainland far to the south of the mouth of the Amur, but Rinsifée is not guaranteeing the correctness of this representation, since some geographers simply designated it as an island off the coast of eastern Tattan (Tartary). Moreover, on these maps precisely opposite the mouth of the Amur there is represented a large island stretching from west to east and named "Sagariin," about which the Japanese author had perhaps received information from Manchurian or Chinese sources. Thus, northern and southern Sakhalin are torn apart here, and while the former was still only an unknown, faraway island to the Japanese, they looked upon the latter as a nearby country which they thought of, thanks to its trade relations with the Manchu, as a peninsula leading directly to the mainland. The familiarity

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of the Japanese with the name "Krafto" for Sakhalin can be traced back even further, for in the description of Jesso by Araï Tsikugo-no-kami ("Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh. -- Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun,

/125 cont./

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3. (cont.)
Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 191, 205), who around 1720 stayed on this island for a long time, it is said that the Ainu there call the island Oku- or Oki-Jesso (Sakhalin) "Krato" or "Karato." Indeed, even earlier the Japanese interpreter, Kannemon, who visited Jesso before 1652, reported that "Krato" or "Kraft" was a province in Tartary from which the inhabitants of Jesso obtained a special type of fabric ("Kraft-ori," evidently Chinese fabrics coming via Sakhalin) (see his "Jeso-ki," likewise translated by Titsingh, op. cit., pp. 162, 164). In this connection it should be noted that it seems to be these two "Jeso-ki" that Klaproth, during his stay in Irkutsk, used to supplement the information concerning Jesso given by Rinsifée in San kokf tsou ran to sets. I conclude this both from the content of his additions to the last-named work, which are almost identical with the two "Jeso-ki," and from the dates when the two descriptions of Jesso used were written (see Klaproth's preface to the San kokf, etc., p. IV). Only the one date (for Kannemon's "Jeso-ki") is given reduced by a century (1752 instead of 1652), probably as the result of a printing error.

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It was regarded as of Japanese /126/ origin (1), but, according to

1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 301; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198.

/126 cont./

175 Schmidt, it comes from the Ainu of the neighboring islands,
● 103 Jesso, Kunaschir /Kunashir/, and Iturup, and has merely been adopted by the Japanese (2). Presumably, therefore, it is also

2. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432. The above-mentioned statements by Kannemon and Arai Tsikugo concerning "Krato" and "Kraft" also argue in favor of this being a word foreign to the Japanese and brought to them by the Ainu.

peculiar to the Ainu of Sakhalin (3).

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3. Rinsifée (San kokf tsou, etc., pp. 187, 284) points out, however, that the true name of the country called Karafuto by the Japanese was "Taraïkaï" or "Tarakaï," whereupon Klaproth (San kokf, etc., p. 188, Notes; Asia polygl. p. 301) and Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 198) regarded the latter as the indigenous Ainu name for the island. Schmidt (Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1869, p. 432) rightly points out, however, that this name probably comes from the village of Taraika located in the Gulf of Patience, which formerly had many trade relations, especially with Manchuria. The latter are of no importance here, however, since the use of the name Tarakaï for Sakhalin was started by the Japanese. They had evidently heard the name of this village from the Ainu and erroneously took it for that of the island as a whole. In Kannemon's "Jeso-ki,"

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3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar'/Ainu-Russian Dictionary/." -- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

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Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

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Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3

K 175 131 167 A 175 /127 cont./ The next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

A K 174 103 192

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

K A 175 563 484 Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

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Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them: for many years they have entered into marriages

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/127 cont./

6. (cont.)
Islands south of Onekotan, Krascheninnikof gives a faithful translation of Müller's remarks, but for the northern ones, as well as for southern Kamchatka, he ignores them completely, since here he was able to rely upon his own experiences and observations, as well as Steller's. Later (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, 1758 p. 79), Müller agreed with the assertions by Steller and Krascheninnikof and declared that it was nothing but "common usage" among the Russians on Kamchatka to call the inhabitants of the first island and of the mainland to the south of Bolscherezk "Kuriles," whereas they were nothing but Kamchadal with a different language dialectally.

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And they carried the same designation, in adjectival form, over to many localities in southern Kamchatka, as is shown by the names Kurilskoje /128/ osero, Kurilskij Ostrog located on an island in the lake named, Kurilskaja Lopatka, etc.

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As for the origin of the name "Kuriles" for the Ainu on the island chain to the south of Kamchatka, among the Russian writers since the days of Golownin it became, I might almost say, a custom to derive the name of the people from that of the islands, and the latter from their smoking volcanoes (kuryashchiyasya sopki) (1). Steller, however, has already

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1. Golovnina, Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev", v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 g., Pt. III, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 158; A. Sgibnev", "Bunt" Ben'evskago v" Kamch. v" 1771 g. /The Revolt of Ben'evskii in Kamchatka in 1771/" Russk.

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/128 cont./

1. (cont.)
Starina, 1876, March, p. 534). Polonskij ("Kurily."-- Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 369) went even a step further in that he thought that the name derived from the smoking volcanoes were all the more likely preserved since to the approaching mariner these islands emerged out of the fog in which they were almost constantly wrapped, and thus seemed to be smoking themselves. This derivation of the name "Kuriles" is also repeated in Bickmore's article on the Ainu (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 18). As an oddity I might give Tronson's assertion that the name Kuriles for the islands came from a lake of the same name (Kurilskoje osero) located in the south of Kamchatka, whose inhabitants had most likely emigrated to the islands (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary, etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, p. 158).

A K 101 175 Steller, however, has already pointed out that the name Kuriles customary among the Russians for the inhabitants of the like-named islands was connected with the name that the Italmen from Bolschaja reka to Lopatka give to this people and which sounds like "Kuschi" or "Kusi" (2).

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 30.

A K [114] He himself, however, erroneously derives this latter name from a special way of dancing customary among this people, that "Kuschi" would mean something like "dancing" or "jumping" (3).

3. Steller, OP Cit., P. 248, note a.

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3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

GA 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

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4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

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5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

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6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

AFJ 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

AFJ 103 175 114 FJ 113

7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

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FJ.
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/128 cont./

7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the Annales for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kurumisi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, San kokf, etc., pp. 193, 195).

000 explanation of that name for the people and the land.

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/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakã, Eluntschun, and Kuã," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

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1. Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuã as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

A 101 175 G 101 103 113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

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7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuā, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'jamta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

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G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

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[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

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174 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
648 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
131 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
● 103 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
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